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ABSTRACT

This paper describes and analyzes definitions of democracy and civic education of teachers and students in each of three types of secondary schools in an emerging democracy: the Czech Republic. The paper's theoretical framework is rooted in anthropological and sociological notions of the social context of culture that attend to the fact that all human acts, like this statement and the research that informed it, display four features common to all acts of cultural production. Analysis focuses on the "subject-object relations" that are displayed in the class of objects acknowledged and singled out for attention as well as in the manner in which the object (democracy, citizenship, and civic education) is defined. Data reported were collected during 2 months of field work in the Czech Republic during 1997. Approximately 350 students were asked to write answers to the following questions: (1) How would you define democracy? (2) How would you define citizenship? and (3) How would you define civic education (citizenship education)? The answers listed in the paper are coded for evidence of recognition of the rights and obligations of democratic citizenship and comparisons are made across cities and types of schools as well as between students and teachers. Results reported in the paper suggest that "gymnazium" student responses are most similar to teacher responses in their recognition of democratic rights and obligations to the group while students from the lower level schools tended to recognize the rights accorded them by democratic institutions and not the mutually entailed group obligation. Includes 20 notes, 13 figures, a table and 88 references. (Author/BT)

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by J. Joe Bishop

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# CZECH DEMOCRACY AND CIVIC EDUCATION*

A paper prepared for presentation at the Conference on Qualitative Research in Education
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(Keywords: Civic education, Eastern Europe, emerging democracies)

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ABSTRACT: This paper describes and analyzes definitions of democracy and civic education of teachers and students in each of the three types of secondary schools in an emerging democracy: the Czech Republic. The theoretical framework for this paper is rooted in anthropological and sociological notions of the social context of culture that attend to the fact that all human acts, like this statement and the research act that informed it, display four features common to all acts of cultural production. The analysis focuses on the subject-object relations that are displayed in the class of objects acknowledged and singled out for attention as well as in the manner in which the object (here, democracy, citizenship, and civic education) is defined. The data reported in this paper were collected during two months of field work in the Czech Republic during the fall of 1997. Approximately 350 students and were asked to write answers to the following questions: 1) How would you define democracy? 2) How would you define citizenship? 3) How would you define civic education (citizenship education)"? Answers are coded for evidence of recognition of the rights and obligations of democratic citizenship and comparisons are made across cities and types of schools as well as between students and teachers. The results suggest that *gymnazium* student responses are most similar to teacher responses in their recognition of democratic rights and obligations to the group while students from the lower level schools tended to recognize the rights accorded them by democratic institutions and not the mutually entailed group obligation.

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> My views echo those of Mary Douglas in her insistence on the importance of institutions. Thinking, perception, and valuation, as Douglas has shown, are shot through with institutionally defined notions of right social relations. This holds true for those like us, in liberal cultures, who have been taught to believe and act "independently" as individuals. Like other varieties of culture, individualism is a culture dependent on supportive institutions. These institutions have been the more successful if they have induced us to perceive individual autonomy as something "natural" and to forget our dependence on them. Upon reflection, however, we realize that citizenship is not a natural attribute of individuals but an office in the set of institutions that we call a republic. The voice of the citizen needs an order of institutions, a hierarchy, both to sound and to have effect. (van Gunsteren, 1998: 29)

**Introduction**

The legalized practice of democracy has occurred most recently with the writing of post-communist constitutions coincidental with the demise of the Soviet Union. In the Czech Republic, this occurred in the aftermath of the 1989 Velvet Revolution. The demise of communist socialism, coupled with a turn toward democratic capitalism, necessitated a transformation in the manner in which the young are socialized into the public political culture of nations throughout Central and Eastern Europe. These formal socialization efforts to enculturate the young occur in the realm of civic education. On a regular basis, enacting the official social goals of national and local education policy, schools provide a site where a variety of children interact with each other and official adult representatives of the state in an organized attempt to educate.

As one intentional goal of state-level human activity, democratic civic education, the domain of educating the young for participation in a democratic public and political culture, presupposes a democracy. The continuation of a democracy presupposes an intentional, organized human activity variously regarded as political socialization or civic education. Official political socialization, via state sanctioned civic education in the schools, is the means by which the state attempts to reproduce and maintain itself by preparing future participants in the state. Democracy must be seen as the interaction frame within which democratic citizenship and the civic education producing those citizens occurs. Civic education presupposes the existence of citizens, their relationships with each other, and the rights and duties expected, or mandated by law, from each to the other and the state. Citizenship, the official label applied to a citizen, the subject or member of a state, can be understood as a specific social role with respect to the state and other citizens. Since we lack an understanding of how Czech students and teachers conceptualize democracy, citizenship, and civic education, this paper seeks to fill that void.

**Theoretical Overview**

When humans act, they simultaneously assume the existence of and constitute the institutions that inform their practice.[1] While one student might dread the thought of attending school one morning, discussing that thought while playing hooky with a friend enacts elements of the educational system discussed. Too, another student discussing educational goals with a friend or teacher enacts elements of an educational system. While the actions of both of these hypothetical students may occur within the same system, the description becomes that much more complex when the institution referred to in their discourse about education[2] differs as much from the American or any other model, as gymnasia do from vocational and specialist schools in the Czech Republic.

Furthermore, humans often function independently as differentiated individuals within a culture. Their stance toward an object examined, in this case education, is, as Piaget and others have pointed out (e.g. Inhelder and Piaget, 1958), as much a function of their position in the system as it is of their individual ability to decenter and evaluate the object from alternative perspectives. Thus, in order to communicate, we must share, at least in proscribed circumstances, interpretive conventions (Garfinkel, 1972) and models (e.g., Holland and Quinn, 1987; Quinn, 1991; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Since these forms of knowledge are differentially distributed within a population (e.g., among novices and experts), and controlled (Keesing, 1987), these conventions, like the speech conventions examined by sociolinguists (E.g., Berstein, 1964; Briggs, 1986; Abrahams, 1977, 1983; Akmajian, Demers, and Harnish, 1979; O'Donnell, 1990; Schiffrin, 1990), vary with our positions relative to others in the

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[1] See for example, work in anthropology and sociology such as Bourdieu 1990a; Bourdieu 1990b; Collins 1981; Douglas 1986; Fine 1991; Giddens 1991; Marcus and Fisher 1986; Ortner 1984; Rosaldo 1989; as well as the philosophy of Searle 1995. More recently, similar ideas have been articulated by Bruner, 1996.

[2] For that matter, a disinclination to discuss a topic on the part of the hooky players contributes, in its silence (following Foucault, 1972), to the enactment of the system.

extant system: here, the educational system. Hence, the impropriety of attempting change without awareness of context is highlighted when we lack an understanding of the nature of the distribution of those conventions: here, Czech conceptions of democracy and civic education.

The inability to conduct complex, concerted activities, such as that which occurs when people enact social institutions (i.e., here, an educational system), without aligning actions and communicating with each other mandates that every study of human action grant primacy to language[1]. That the impetus for this study emerged out of an intercultural contact only highlights the necessity of considering meaning and its distribution among any population studied. Therefore, the theoretical and methodological orientation of this study is intentionally inter-disciplinary and is as much a result of my exposure to communication studies and the social sciences as it is dictated by a serious consideration of human relations and affairs.

The people of the Czech Republic most recently organized themselves for democratic citizenship education in the aftermath of the 1989 Velvet Revolution (Kotásek 1993:475, 476).[2] During a period of declining socialism and communism in Central and Eastern Europe, with the dissolution of Czechoslovakia, they proclaimed their collective intent of existence as the Czech Republic. That act, like this statement and the research act which informed it, displays four features common to all acts of cultural production: subject-object relations, self-reference, macroreference, and audience response (Wieting and Thorlindsson, 1990).

First, performing such an act of cultural production highlights a naming function of language which allows one to usher a new object into being. That I have accomplished the same here by contributing to an existing body of discourse mandates attention to that common feature. These subject-object relations and the different forms they assume (Bishop, 1998) can function analytically as a means not only of differentiating groups, but also, in accord with the approach taken here, as a means by which one might examine the stance taken towards the object. These relations are displayed, for instance, in the class of objects acknowledged and singled out for attention as well as in the manner in which the object is defined. The primary goal of this study is to examine three objects — the nature of that stance towards democracy, citizenship, and civic education taken by Czech students and teachers.

Second, the nature of the self-referential act also functions analytically as a means of examining responses. The preferential use of first-person pronouns in-lieu of second/third-person pronouns illustrates a different normative order than another pattern (Bishop, 1989). For example, defining democracy as "We can do anything we want" differs substantially from the claim "I can do anything I want." By examining texts for differences such as this we can differentiate groups as well as utilize the relative proportions of personal pronouns distributed in a sample of texts as a measure of group cohesion.

The third element of the social context of cultural production notes that a cultural product displays evidence of accommodating audience characteristics and expectation. This is evident, for instance, when we construct our statements to meet the demands of syntactical norms and features of the genres in which the statement is couched. Macroreferences in conversation to institutions assumed to exist also indicates this characteristic of cultural production. For example, when American educators speak of progressivism or pragmatism, they invite assessment of their discourse on the bases of shared understandings of progressivism or pragmatism.

Finally, audience response(s) illuminate the socially situated nature of cultural production. Collective organization to retain a cultural product depends on assessing the degree to which the product, now the object of a new moment of cultural production, meets normative expectations of form and content. In performing such acts, peers, as well as consumers and future subjects who make the product the object of their attention,[3] in their discourse, display these four elements of cultural production delineated here. Thus, this study also functions as call for the comparative examination of these four elements. With all of the competing conceptions of democracy and civic education that occur in discussions when substantial social change occurs, the Czech Republic is ripe with opportunity to elicit these models and motives. The manner in which this was done for this study is described in the next section.

**Methodological Strategy**

Any sort of inquiry that hopes to build a knowledge of the nature of democratic civic education in a transitional democracy such as the Czech Republic must, necessarily, begin by elucidating the various civic

[1] While language is only one of many semiotic systems, recursively, it remains the necessary element of discussion at the end of an infinite regress.

[2] A designation of an object of observation by journalists.

[3] Wieting and Thorlindsson (1990: 175) point out that these may include evaluators, archivists, or distributors.



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conceptions held by Czech students and teachers. As one intent in this study is to examine the cognitive context in which curriculum for democratic citizenship might be implemented, it is necessary to utilize a theoretical perspective (as above) which adequately situates my study. The primary, orienting research question for this study was "What is the pattern of conceptions of civic education and democracy across student and teacher populations in three types of secondary schools in the Czech Republic?" The question is rooted in a recognition of the potential diversity of views held by students and educators. Thus, determining the range of those structures is accomplished primarily through the survey methodology employed in this study. We lack an understanding of indigenous (or popular) conceptions of the democratic state, citizenship, and civic education conducted to create those citizens. The data reported in this paper were collected during two months of field work conducted in the Czech Republic during the fall of 1997. The Czech Republic has three types of secondary schools: 1) *gymnazium* or academic schools; 2) *střední škola* or specialist schools; and 3) *učiliště* or vocational schools. Approximately 350 students and teachers in each of these schools in one large city, two medium-sized cities, and one small town were asked to write answers to the following questions: 1) How would you define democracy? 2) How would you define citizenship? 3) How would you define civic education (citizenship education)"?

Data was collected from students and teachers in four cities of different sizes at three different types of schools in the Czech Republic.[5] Colleagues in the Czech Republic made arrangements for me to visit. Prague, České Budejovice, and Milevsko in Bohemia, the western part of the Czech Republic and Olomouc, in Moravia, the eastern part of the Czech Republic.

Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic, has about 1.2 million residents and is a thriving cosmopolitan metropolis. I resided in the empty flat owned by the parents of a colleague. The Prague gymnasium I visited provided me the opportunity to observe classes, interview a few students and teachers, and administer my survey instruments. The other school I visited there is a combined school which offers vocational or specialist programs of study. Prague also functioned as my home base. From here I journeyed to other places to collect data.

České Budejovice has about 120,000 residents and is about three hours south of Prague. While there, I resided with a Czech family. The mother of the family was a civics and English teacher at a local gymnasium, which I visited every day. There, I observed a few civics and English lessons. I also participated in the life of the school by conducting a few English lessons and I visited a local vocational school as well as a health specialist school.

Milevsko, an hour south of Prague, has approximately 5,000 residents. I stayed at a local hotel and was at the gymnasium almost everyday. I also visited the local vocational school. Since the town is small, there is no local specialist school[6]. Students who wish to specialize, attend schools in nearby towns, such as Tabor or Pisek, while some students from other towns come to Milevsko for the gymnasium or vocational school.

Olomouc is one of the largest cities in Moravia and has 120,000 residents. It is in the center of the parts of the Czech Republic that were devastated by the 1997 summer flood. I stayed in a university dormitory that was being renovated due to flood damage.[7] While in Olomouc, I attended and made presentations at a summer school civic education conference for teachers. I was also able to interview and administer my survey instruments to a few teachers at the conference. Due to the flood damage, I was only able to visit schools long enough to administer surveys, interview a few students, and observe the damage to the school buildings and equipment.

**Democracy**

The basic foundation of early Athenian democracy, following Macridis (1992: 22), is that it was based on participatory government, legal equality, pluralism, and individuality of the citizens of the state. While Athens granted citizenship to a select few, the people admitted to citizen status in different states since that time[8] have varied with their spatiotemporal location in history and geography. Aware of this, Macridis' goal is to examine the

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[5] The Czech Republic has three types of secondary schools: 1) *gymnazium* or academic schools; 2) *střední škola* or specialist schools; and 3) *učiliště* or vocational schools.

[6] Milevsko also has a secondary school for students with special needs. While I was unable to visit this school, it is interesting to note that many of the students attending this school are *Roma* (Gypsies).

[7] Walking down the street, the musty smell of wet basements permeated the air. Few telephones were in operational condition and workers were busy excavating, often by hand, power lines for repairs.

[8] For example women, minorities, people of different social classes, and people with handicaps.

shifts in the past three centuries among liberal, collectivist, and the conservative capitalist phases of democracy (1992: 23).

In his discussion of liberalism, the individual reigns. In early forms the individual is seen as possessing natural rights of freedom and equality. In other instances, psychological motives of interest (related to pleasure satisfaction) are made in order to account for action. Finally, individualism occurs in the economic realm as capitalism (Macridis, 1992: 24). In addition, there are three cores to liberalism. The moral core deals with values and rights, the political core with political rights, the economic core with economic and property rights (1992: 25-27). He continues and points out that the moral core incorporates personal, civil and social liberties. This may be seen as occurring within the context of the economic core as a social transition from status to contract introduces the notion of utilitarianism (rational calculation to maximize pleasure) as a motive for behavior. The political core is composed of individual consent, a restrained representative government, via constitutionalism, and, popular sovereignty (Macridis, 1992: 26-40). In sum, liberalism values the individual more than the state, but has been used pluralistically to grant rights and freedoms to groups, and by the twentieth century was beginning to include notions of social justice (Macridis, 1992: 42, 43, 48).

Elements of the moral core can be seen in many of the definitions provided by the Czechs I studied. For instance, in defining democracy, one teacher wrote:

1-9: 1a Respektování práv, svobod, ale i povinností každého občana, občanem.
Authority of rights, freedom, and duty of every citizen with citizens.[10]

In this definition, the teacher focuses on the personal liberties granted democratic citizens while also recognizing that a democratic citizen also holds obligations toward other citizens.

Another teacher focuses on rights:

1-16: 1a: Společnost, která zajišťuje svým občanum co nejvíce práv a svobod. Občané jsou naprosto rovnoprávní. Žádná diskriminace.
A society which can ensure its citizens as many as possible rights and freedoms. Citizens are absolutely with equal rights. No discrimination.

Among students, many of their definitions also focused on rights. Some of them also referred to duties. For instance:

3-10: 1a: Společenské v řízení, ve kterém má každý stejná práva a stejné povinnosti, může vyjádřit svobodně svuj názor a má spoustu dalších lidských práv.
Social in proceedings/action, in which has everyone equal rights and equal duties, one is able to express freely his opinions and one has plenty of additional human rights.

8-20: 1a: každý má právo na svuj názor
Everyone has the right to their own opinion.

Some definitions incorporated elements of the political core. Some students clearly recognized the element of consent and restraint.

3-8: 1a: Vláda lidu, kde se všichni řídí ústavou.
Government of people where everyone works/operates (by means of) the constitution.

While others were more vague:

9-19: 1a: svoboda v určitych mezích
Freedom in definite limits.

Among teachers, this element tended to be vague:

1-38: 1a: Vláda většiny při zachování práv menšiny.
Government of majority with good conduct of rights of the minority.

1-28: 1a: Možnost podílet se na tvorbě zákonych norem, být brán v úvahu názor většiny.
Possibility to share in the production of laws norms, to be a gateway to thinking opinion of majority.

[10] All translations are mine and have been checked by a native Czech speaker. The numbers preceding the Czech are part of the coding system indicating the location of the individual from whom the data was collected.

None of the definitions referred to the economic core. This may be explained by the collectivist history of the Czech Republic. In the same work, Macridis argues that collectivist democracy generally retains the moral and political core of liberalism, but hold reservations about the economic core of capitalism (1992: 52). The result has been support for various degrees of state corrections to the economy ranging from minimal control in order to provide basic social services to the social democratic call for the abolishment of private property and free enterprise as well as the welfare state, mixed economies and capitalist responses to those situations (Macridis, 1992: 52 ff.).

In the third phase, for Macridis, rather then a contract view of the state, conservatives have an organic, functionalist theory of society (1992: 81-83). They reject individualism and egalitarianism, while simultaneously remaining committed to legal guarantees of rights, representative government and the welfare state within the context of tradition and law (1992: 87) as well as a free market and a restrictive morality (1992: 91-92).

As a summary, Table 1 compares Macridis' three phases of democracy in terms of the presence or absence of the general elements of the three cores of liberalism. Theoretically, other variants exist depending on the relative preponderance of the existence of these three cores. Thus, in this study, since different "democratic cultures"[11] exist, seeking these elements within the definitions of democracy provides a starting point for the analysis of indigenous Czech conceptions of democracy.

Table 1. Elements of Liberalism in Collectivist and Capitalist Phases of Democracy

| | **Liberal Moral Core** | **Liberal Political Core** | **Liberal Economic Core** |
|---|---|---|---|
| Liberalism | + | + | + |
| Collectivist | + | + | - |
| Conservative | - | + | + |

Patrick (1998) suggests some concepts that are useful in developing analytical categories. In discussing three universal problems of democracy, he argues first, that in a democracy, majority rule must be limited in order to protect minority rights. Secondly, personal liberty and the power of government must be constitutionally limited. Finally, positive rights must be limited.[12] In pointing out that there exists a pan-planetary disagreement of which right takes precedence (1998: 9), he provides another analytical category for this study.

Among the definitions in my data pool, some respondents recognized a need to limit the majority in order to protect the minority. For instance, among teachers:

1-27: 1a: Podřízení menšiny většině, existence určitých práv a svobod (viz ústava a listin a lidských práv), ale u nás to neexistuje.

Subordinating the minority to the majority, the existence of clearly defined laws and freedoms (see the constitution and documents and people's law) but in our country it doesn't exist.

1-38: 1a: Vláda většiny při zachování práv menšiny.

Government of majority with good conduct of rights of the minority.

Some students recognized this limit also:

3-16: 1a: Vláda většiny, menšina ji nesmí omezovat.

Government of the majority, the minority it is not allowed to limit.

6-13: 1a: Vláda lidu, menšina se většinoiu podřídí většině.

Government of the people, a minority with majority subornidate to the majority.

Finally, one study that examined "Popular Conceptions of Democracy" (May, 1980), as with other research, equates particular conceptions about democracy with democracy and then subsequently asks respondents surveyed to evaluate those conceptions. May concludes that the popular essence of democracy includes equal shares, an equal say, leveling to equalize resources, and productivity to disburse resources (1980: 346). These may be useful categories for this analysis. Moreover, his basic question has much similarity with this study: "When ordinary people allude to 'democracy', what do they have in mind? What do they regard as defining properties of democracy?" (May, 1980). Those same questions are aimed also at popular conceptions of citizenship and civic education in this study. It is to the literature dealing with the former concept that the next section turns.

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[11] I have borrowed this notion from Kemble (1996).

[12] Negative rights, guaranteed to citizen by limits on governmental power, prohibit the government from doing certain things to people; positive rights, governmental action on behalf of a person, means that certain things should be done for all citizens (Patrick, 1998: 8).

**Citizenship**

There are few empirical studies on the nature of citizenship and none of Czech citizenship. In general, they do not address questions regarding the nature of citizenship or how it is defined by people. Some studies come close to dealing with this question by inquiring into, for instance, what it feels like to be a Canadian (Howard, 1998) or British or American (Conover, Crewe and Searing, 1992: 819 ff.). The results of citizenship education have been assessed on the basis of displayed levels of political conceptual development measured via responses to hypothetical problem stories (Sullivan, 1970). Others examine the process of acquiring citizenship in Europe (Clarke, van Dam, and Gooster, 1998) or the clash between conservative and liberal conceptions of citizenship (Zevin, 1994). Only one study comes close to my own in terms of questions asked. Conover, Crewe and Searing clearly point out that "much less is known about what ordinary citizens think of such topics [the contractual/liberal and communal views of citizenship]" (1992: 801). Thus, any investigation ought to begin by examining local definitions of citizenship in the context of previous research in order to elicit categories by which popular responses might be classified. While this study is about the conceptions that Czech students and teachers have about the nature of citizenship, a review of recent work on citizenship provides a starting point for considering those conceptions.

Citizenship defines members and non-members of a society and it "can readily be described as participation in or membership of a community" (Barbalet, 1988: 2). Respondents recognized this. In the first example below, a teacher clearly recognizes this. In the second response, a student

1-5: 6a Vztah a odpovědnost člověka k celku - státu.
Relation and responsibility of people to the whole society/state
2-9: 6a Např.[ Například] české občanství - patřím k českému státu.
For instance, a Czech citizen - I belong to the Czech state.

Turner, adds a dimension and points out that "citizenship is normally defined as a bundle of rights and duties relating to an individual as a member of a political community" (Turner, 1993a: x). Turner expands this definition by defining citizenship "as the set of practices (juridical, political, economic and cultural) which define a person as a competent member of a society, and which as a consequence shape the flow of resources to persons and social groups" (Turner, 1993b: 2). In the same work, he compacts his view with the statement that, "[I]n general, therefore, citizenship is essentially about the nature of social membership within modern political collectivities" (Turner 1993b: 3). A teacher recognizes this membership as wells as some of that "bundle of rights and duties":

1-16: 6a: Je to příslušnost občana k určitému státu, která mu zajišťuje všechna práva a všechny svobody vymezené ústavou a ostatními zákony.
It is the allegiance of citizens towards a definite state, which to him ensures all rights and all freedoms demarcated [by the] constitution and about the state.

Some students see this too:

7-21: 6a: Vztah občana ke svému státu.
The relation of a citizen to their own state.
5-11: 6a Příslušnost k národu v určitém státu, práva a povinnosti vůči státu zakotvené ústavou.
Belonging to a nation of a definite state, rights and duties towards state anchored by the constitution.

Any recent work on citizenship that does not invoke and respond to T. H. Marshall's 1949 Cambridge lecture on "Citizenship and Social Class" would be difficult to locate. In that lecture, Marshall set out to answer four questions: 1) Is it true that citizenship equality is inconsistent with social class inequalities? 2) Can we create and preserve equality without affecting competitive market freedom? 3) What are the results in shifting the focus on duties to one on rights? 4) Is there a point beyond which the social equality drive of the modern time can not progress (Marshall, 1950: 9-10)?

In the process of answering these questions, he examined instances from British history and divided citizenship into three elements which "in early times ... were wound into a single thread" (Marshall, 1950: 11) and thus, undifferentiated. The **civil element**[13] emerged in the 18th century and it

[13] Barbalet refers to "C. B. Macpherson's statement that civil rights are rights *against* the state whereas social rights are claims for benefits guaranteed *by* the state" (1988: 20, emphasis in original), thus he sees civil rights as the right to act as a citizen while social rights are the right to consume as a citizen of a state.

> is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom - liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice. The last is of a different order from the others, because it is the right to defend and assert all one's rights on terms of equality with others and by due process of law. This shows us that the institutions most directly associated with civil rights are the courts of justice. (Marshall, 1950: 10-11)

The **political element** appeared in the 19th century and for Marshall meant

> the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body. The corresponding institutions are parliament and councils of local government. (Marshall, 1950: 11)

The 20th century, for Marshall, ushered into being the **social element** of citizenship. By this, he meant

> the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. The institutions most closely connected with it are the educational system and the social services (Marshall, 1950: 11).

Table 1 summarizes the types of rights Marshall identified in his discussion of the elements of citizenship. In the examination of the data from this study, these types of rights will provide another means of classifying the definitions of citizenship.

Table 1. Types of Rights in Marshall's Three Elements of Citizenship

| **Civil Rights** | **Political Rights** | **Social Rights** |
|---|---|---|
| Liberty of the person | Rights of political membership | Economic welfare |
| Freedom of speech | Electoral rights | Security |
| Freedom of thought | | Share in the social heritage |
| Freedom of faith | | Live the life of the civilized |
| Property rights | | |
| Contract rights | | |
| Justice rights | | |

In a study utilizing Marshall's types of rights, it was discovered that American focus groups thought more about citizenship in terms of civil rights than British groups who thought primarily of social rights (Conover, Crewe and Searing, 1992: 807). They continue and point out that the American views are best associated with the liberal view and its legal definition of a citizen as a carrier of rights as opposed to the evolutionary British view which, with its language of exchange, might best be located midway between a communitarian and liberal conception of citizenship (1992:805-811). In terms of duties respondents associated with citizenship, Americans focused on political duties while the most common British response was obeying the law, as well as civility and following community norms (Conover, Crewe and Searing, 1992: 813). Furthermore, they indicate that the contrast in views of duties appears to best summarized by the contrast between an individualistic and legalist notion of duties (seen negatively as an infringement on rights) and seeing duties, more positively, as a moral obligation (1992: 817).

In my sample, respondents referred to rights primarily in their definitions of democracy. As the definitions above demonstrate, they tended to see citizenship as being primarily a matter of "belonging" or membership in a community. There are a few exceptions. For instance, a few students referred to rights:

> 5-17: 6a: Mám určitá práva.
> I have a definite right.

Other students indicated that they did not know or were too young:

6-16: 6a: Nevím.
> I do not know.
> 8-38: 6a: jsem příliš mlada[13]

[13] This may seem like a strange response, but in the first group of students to whom I administered my questionnaire, a student asked what she should writes since she felt too young to have an answer. I told her that she should write that she was too young or did not know. To keep conditions constant, I mentioned this to all other groups of students with whom I met.

I am too young.

Some teachers mentioned rights too:

1-8: 6a Příslušník státu, který má práva a povinnosti státem stanovené.
Member of the state who has rights and duties state determined.

In addition to serving as a point of departure, Marshall's work, it should be pointed out, has not been without criticism. Turner (1990) reviewed some of those criticisms and suggested that Marshall was criticized for the wrong reasons. In his assessment of this criticism, Turner argues that Marshall was aware of the social context within which British welfare rights emerged; he also points out that Marshall's approach did not necessarily require an evolutionary view (Turner, 1990: 193). He continues, arguing that "[a]ny theory of citizenship must also produce a theory of the state" and that we should add "a particular emphasis on the notion of social struggles as the central motor of the drive for citizenship" (Marshall, 1990: 193). While Turner's critique of Marshall's critics is not unwarranted, for the purpose of this study, it is more important to examine the elements Turner incorporated into his theory of citizenship as they may apply to constructing categories which fruitfully may be applied to the citizenship definitions in the data here.

Turner contrasts Michael Mann's (1987) view of citizenship from above (rights as passive) with that of Engels' rights from below (an active view). "[W]e can either regard rights as privileges handed down from above in return for pragmatic cooperation (Mann's thesis), or we can regard rights as the outcome of radical struggle by subordinate groups for benefits (Engels' thesis)" (Turner, 1987: 99).
In the Czech data examined here, any mention of the source of rights (from above/below) tends to appear in the definitions of democracy and in a vague form. For instance, there is a notion of struggle for one teacher:

1-19: 1a: Společnost založenou na rovnosti lidí před zákonem a snahu o utvoření a udržení právního státu.
Social temprement of equality of people before the law and the struggle about constituting and keeping of the laws of state.

Conversely, there is a sense, for some students, that rights are granted from above:

4-11: 6a: Občanství bych definovala, že každý člověk, který žije v určité zemi, musí mít občanství.
Citizenship I would define, that every person who lives in a definite country can have citizenship.

Secondly, Turner supplements Marshall by adding a notion from sociologist Talcott Parsons: "the development of citizenship involves a transition from societies based upon ascriptive criteria to societies based upon achievement criteria" (Turner, 1990: 194). He compares the emerging conceptions of citizenship in Germany and France. The German notion of a citizen "as any individual who had left the family context in order to enter the public arena" contrasts with "the more revolutionary idea of citizenship which had developed in France out of the French Revolution" (Turner, 1990: 204). In light of Turner's recognition that "the character of citizenship varies systematically between different societies" (Turner, 1990: 195; see also Kalberg 1993), what this comparison does, in effect, is highlight a distinction between private and public space. Turner refers to this as "the tension between a private realm of the individual and the family in relationship to the public area of political action" (Turner, 1990: 207). He utilizes this to offer a sociological model of citizenship along two axes, namely public and private definitions of moral activity in terms of the creation of a public space of political activity, and active and passive forms of citizenship in terms of whether the citizen is conceptualised as merely a subject of an absolute authority or as an active political agent. (Turner, 1990: 209)

While he developed this scheme as "a heuristic typology of four political contexts for the institutionalization or creation of citizenship rights" (Turner, 1990: 200), its utility here is most evident in its applicability to classifying definitions of citizenship in the Czech Republic. More specifically, the usefulness of this scheme for this study resides in its call to distinguish active from passive citizenship. Unfortunately, in the definitions that I have collected, while respondents appear to see citizenship as a public affair as noted in definitions above, they do not clearly distinguish between active and passive citizenship.

Turner also criticizes Marshall for not discussing "economic rights" such as those of an industrial democracy which would affect the autonomy of capitalist property (Turner, 1993b: 7). He points out that civil and political rights need not occur evolutionarily before social rights and offers, as illustration, the history of social rights provided to women with underdeveloped civil and political rights (Turner, 1993b: 8). Shotter provides another potential category for analysis via his argument that citizenship confers a sense of belonging on individuals (Shotter, 1993).



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Barbalet also criticizes Marshall for including social rights as an element of citizenship. He argues that they are "better described as... conditional opportunities" (1988: 67). This may be so and thus constitutes another basis for describing empirical examples of citizenship. On the other hand, if the data examined here reveal the existence of social rights as an element of Czech conceptions of democratic citizenship, we cannot summarily dismiss them without a consideration of their location within the conceptions examined. As Barbalet puts it, Marshall described social rights as universal, when in fact, social services are not universal due to the qualifying criteria used to establish recipients (1988: 69). A similar argument is rendered by van Gunsteren (1998: 106-109). Much of the work referencing Marshall, in addition to elaborating his theory of citizenship, ignores Marshall's question about the shift in focusing on duties to focusing on rights. One exception is Dauenhauer who discusses what he considers to be the perennial features of citizenship in presenting "a normative conception of citizenship for our times" (1996: 93). In his discussion, he refers to rights, privileges, immunities and obligations (1996: 95). He argues that the minimalist view of obligations that sees democracy as a passive government of the people dependent on the elite is inadequate (1996: 97). He calls for the development of two main virtues for liberal society: independence and tolerance (Dauenhauer, 1996: 101) after suggesting, in his critique of other liberal approaches, additional analytical categories for evaluating the data in this study. Summarizing liberal versions of a good citizen, he states that

> Except for paying taxes, observing prohibitions against major crimes, and serving in their state's defense when needed, the citizen has no corresponding "active" obligations. Citizens may rightly, if they so choose, remain politically passive. (Dauenhauer, 1996: 96-97).

One student recognized the tax duty:

7-13: 1a Svobodné smýšlení lidí, jejich názory a práva jsou uznávána. I když mají práva, mají také určité povinnosti: platit daně, apod. Dříve se říkalo, že je to absolutní svoboda, ale není to pravda.

Free thoughts of people, their opinions and rights are acknowledged. Even when they have rights, they have also definite duties to hold taxes, and the like. Earlier it was said that it is absolutely free but that is not true.

In another quest for an appropriate notion of citizenship for the contemporary world, van Gunsteren distinguishes three theoretical views of citizenship: "the liberal-individualist, the communitarian, and the republican (1998: 14). In the first view, "the citizen is represented as a calculating holder of preferences and rights" (1998: 17). The problem with this, he suggests, is that it ignores the impact of the group on the individual. Not so for communitarians, who see the status of citizen involving a "belonging to a historically developed community" (1998: 19). Again, this stance is problematic for van Gunsteren, as it becomes easy to ignore or forget the restrictions communities have imposed on freedom (1998: 20). In republican communitarian citizenship, the public community is the center of political life, but this too is problematic for van Gunsteren as it elevates military virtue over all others and negates, by ignoring, other communities implied by trade, economics, or private spaces (1998: 21).

With these criticisms in mind, he proposes a neorepublican citizenship which blends elements of the other three views that may be useful in this analysis. The elements of his view are first, that citizenship is an office or institution in the public realm and all citizens have political equality in terms of the right to exercise that office (1998: 25). Second, the main task of citizens is to organize plurality (1998: 26). Finally, "[c]itizenship is created and recreated by citizens in action" (1998: 27).

Many of the definitions in my sample(as noted above) refer to some notion of belonging to a historical community:

7-13: 6a Členství v určitém státě.
Membership in a definite state.
10-12: 6a příslušnost ke státu dána většinou místem narození
Belonging to a state given usually by place of birth
11-14: a6: jsem Čech
I am Czech

Figure 1 illustrates the roughly equal distribution of references to rights among male and female respondents. The category "None" indicates that respondents did not refer to rights anywhere in their definitions of democracy, citizenship, or civic education. "General" refers to definitions that conceived of rights in general terms. For example,

7-17: 1a Svoboda, volnost
Freedom, unrestraint
1-3: 1a Určitá míra svobody, vláda většiny
A definite extent/limit of freedom, government of the majority

| View of Right | None | Coun | Sex | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Mal | Femal | 9 | Total |
| | | % within Sex | 43.5% | 37.9% | 100.0 | 40.3% |
| | Genera | Coun | 36 | 65 | | 101 |
| | | % within Sex | 31.3% | 28.0% | | 28.9% |
| | Specific | Coun | 29 | 79 | | 108 |
| | | % within Sex | 25.2% | 34.1% | | 30.9% |
| Total | | Coun | 115 | 232 | 3 | 350 |
| | | % within Sex | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Figure 1. Views of Rights by Sex**

Responses in the "specific" category delineated particular rights. For example:

2-25. 1a. Svoboda slova, náboženského vyznánia politického přesvědčení. Otevřené hranice.
Free speech, religion, profession of political conviction. Open borders.
4-12. 1a. Že máme určité svobody - tisku, shromažďování, projevu, náboženství atd.
That we have definite freedoms - speech, press, gathering, expression, religion, etc.

Figure 2 shows a differential distribution of types of views of rights by location. While more than one-half of the teachers made no mention of rights, a large portion (41%) had general notions of rights. What is interesting is that about one-half of the students in Olomouc and České Budejovice did not mention rights, while only about one-quarter of the students in Prague and Milevsko did not. One possible explanation for this is the distance of Olomouc and České Budejovice from Prague, the political center of the country.

| Vie of Right | Non | Coun | LOCATI | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Teache | Olomou | Pragu | Milevs | Cesk Budejovi | Tota |
| | | % LOCATI | 53.8 | 47.2 | 23.7 | 23.9 | 54.8 | 39.8 |
| | Gener | Coun | 16 | 21 | 29 | 20 | 13 | 99 |
| | | % LOCATI | 41.0 | 23.6 | 38.2 | 29.9 | 17.8 | 28.8 |
| | Specifi | Coun | 2 | 26 | 29 | 31 | 20 | 10 |
| | | % LOCATI | 5.1 | 29.2 | 38.2 | 46.3 | 27.4 | 31.4 |
| Tota | | Coun | 39 | 89 | 76 | 67 | 73 | 34 |
| | | % LOCATI | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Figure 2. View of Rights by Location**

| Vie | No | Cou | Age | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of | | % | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | Tot |
| Rig | | Age | 49 0 | 41 2 | 33 7 | 27 3 | | 55 6 | 55 6 | 41 7 | 62 5 | 39 9 |
| | Gen | Cou | 8 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 10 |
| | | % | 16 3 | 27 2 | 29 7 | 33 3 | 50 0 | 33 3 | 38 9 | 50 0 | 37 5 | 29 0 |
| | | Age | | | | | | | | | | |
| | Spec | Cou | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | | 10 |
| | | % | 34 7 | 31 6 | 36 6 | 39 4 | 50 0 | 11 1 | 5 6 | 8 3 | | 31 0 |
| | | Age | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tot | | Cou | 4 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 34 |
| | | % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| | | Age | | | | | | | | | | |

**Figure 3. View of Rights by Age Group**

Figures 3 and 4 present the distribution of rights by age group and school level respectively. In terms of age, it is interesting to note that with the exception of those in their 40s, about one-half of the teachers did not refer to rights in their definitions while among younger students, especially 17 and 18 year olds who take a class on civics, about one-third of the students did not refer to rights. In fact, about one-third of all students referred to specific rights while fewer than 10% of teachers did. Similarly, in terms of school level, as we move up from basic schools (elementary school teachers here) too gymnasia the number of references increases from about 8% to 37%.

| Vie | Non | Cou | School | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| of | | % | Basi | Vocation | Speciali | Gymnasi | Universi | Tota |
| Right | | Scho Leve | 54 2 | 32 4 | 37 7 | 43 3 | 50 0 | 40 3 |
| | Gener | Cou | 9 | 29 | 32 | 27 | 4 | 10 |
| | | % Scho Leve | 37 5 | 40 8 | 30 2 | 19 1 | 50 0 | 28 9 |
| | Specifi | Cou | 2 | 19 | 34 | 53 | | 10 |
| | | % Scho Leve | 8 3 | 26 8 | 32 1 | 37 6 | | 30 9 |
| Tota | | Cou | 24 | 71 | 10 | 14 | 8 | 35 |
| | | % Scho Leve | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 |

**Figure 4. View of Rights by School Level**

Classifying obligations similarly (None, general, and Specific), figures 5-8 compare responses across groups. In figure 5, it is clear that there is very little difference in definitions on the basis of sex. Figure 6 indicates that

regardless of location, between about 80% and 90% of students made no reference to obligations. Conversely, about one-half of teachers made some reference to obligations (primarily general obligations).

In figure 7 we can see some age differences. In general, older respondents increasingly referred to obligations. In figure 8, it is clear that excepting the Basic School teachers, the vast majority or respondents at various school levels made no mention of obligations in their definitions.

| Obligation | Non | Coun | Sex | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Mal | Femal | 9 | Total |
| | | % within Sex | 80.7% | 84.5% | 100.0 | 83.4% |
| | Genera | Coun | 19 | 31 | | 50 |
| | | % within Sex | 16.7% | 13.3% | | 14.3% |
| | Specific | Coun | 3 | 5 | | 8 |
| | | % within Sex | 2.6% | 2.1% | | 2.3% |
| Total | | Coun | 114 | 233 | 3 | 350 |
| | | % within Sex | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Figure 5. Views of Obligations by Sex**

| Obligatio | Non | Coun | LOCATI | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Teacher | Olomou | Pragu | Milevsk | Cesk Budejovic | Tota |
| | | % LOCATI | 51.3 | 94.3 | 85.7 | 89.6 | 82.2 | 84.0 |
| | Gener | Coun | 18 | 4 | 10 | 5 | 10 | 47 |
| | | % LOCATI | 46.2 | 4.5% | 13.0 | 7.5% | 13.7 | 13.7 |
| | Specifi | Coun | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 8 |
| | | % LOCATI | 2.6% | 1.1% | 1.3% | 3.0% | 4.1% | 2.3% |
| Tota | | Coun | 39 | 88 | 77 | 67 | 73 | 344 |
| | | % LOCATI | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Figure 6. Views of Obligation by Location**

| Obligat | No | Cou | Age | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | Tot |
| | | % Age | 100 | 86 7 | 84 3 | 87 9 | 75 0 | 55 6 | 61 1 | 25 0 | 75 0 | 83 3 |
| | Gene | Cou | | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 2 | 5 |
| | | % Age | | 10 6 | 12 7 | 9 1 | 25 0 | 44 4 | 38 9 | 66 7 | 25 0 | 14 4 |
| | Speci | Cou | | 3 | 3 | 1 | | | | 1 | | 8 |
| | | % Age | | 2 7 | 2 9 | 3 0 | | | | 8 3 | | 2 3 |
| Tot | | Cou | 4 | 11 | 10 | 3 | 4 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 8 | 34 |
| | | % Age | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

**Figure 7. Views of Obligations by Age Group**

| Obligation | None | Count | School | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Basic | Vocationa | Specialis | Gymnasiu | Universit | Total |
| | | % within School Level | 41 7% | 85 9% | 84 9% | 89 4% | 62 5% | 83 4% |
| | Genera | Count | 13 | 8 | 14 | 12 | 3 | 50 |
| | | % within School Level | 54 2% | 11 3% | 13 2% | 8 5% | 37 5% | 14 3% |
| | Specific | Count | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | | 8 |
| | | % within School Level | 4 2% | 2 8% | 1 9% | 2 1% | | 2 3% |
| Total | | Count | 24 | 71 | 106 | 141 | 8 | 350 |
| | | % within School Level | 100 0% | 100 0% | 100 0% | 100 0% | 100 0% | 100 0% |

**Figure 8. Views of Obligation by School Level**

Janoski (1998) provides an additional way of examining definitions of citizenship. In this work, he utilizes the concepts of liberalism, communitarianism, and social/expansive democracy to classify types of societies. These concepts can also serve as a means of classifying the responses examined here. Liberalism prioritizes rights over obligations. While emphasizing individuals, basic obligations such as obeying the law are accounted for in terms of restricted exchanges whereby rights are contractually related to basic duties. For communitarians, obligations take precedence over rights and the two are related by means of a generalized exchange that does not expect an immediate return. Finally, he argues that a third regime type exists and is not an intermediary between the other two. In this social or expansive democracy, rights and obligations are balanced via restricted and generalized exchange (Janoksi, 1998: 18-20). Figure 9 conceptually displays the relationship between these three types of regimes. Even though this element of Janoski's work is the result of his endeavor to develop a theoretical framework



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of rights and obligations in different types of regimes. It can also be used here as potential categories with which to classify respondents' conceptions and make comparisons across school level, sex, location, and age group.

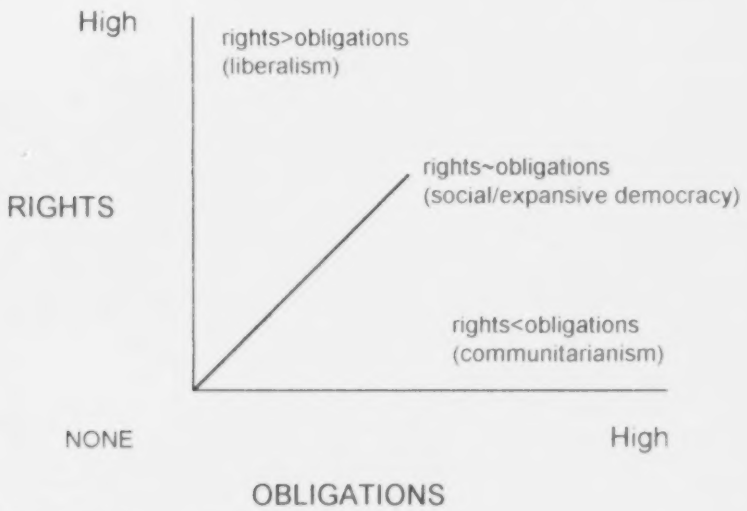


**Figure 9. Views of Civic Rights and Obligations**

Figures 10-13 present the distribution of this ratio of rights to obligations by sex, location, age group, and school level, respectively.

| View | Rights | Coun | Sex | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Mal | Femal | 9 | Total |
| | Obligation | % within Sex | 43 0% | 52 2% | | 48 7% |
| | Rights | Coun | 61 | 102 | 3 | 166 |
| | Obligation | % within Sex | 53 5% | 44 0% | 100 0 | 47 6% |
| | Rights | Coun | 4 | 9 | | 13 |
| | Obligation | % within Sex | 3 5% | 3 9% | | 3 7% |
| Total | | Coun | 114 | 232 | 3 | 349 |
| | | % within Sex | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 |

**Figure 10. Rights Ratio View by Sex**

As has been the pattern thus far, Figure 10 indicates that there is not a large difference between males and females and the ratio of rights to obligations in their responses.

| Vie | Rights | Coun | Teache | Olomou | Pragu | Milevs | Budejovi | Tota |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | LOCATI | | Cesk | |
| | Obligatio | % LOCATI | 17 9 | 50 0 | 65 8 | 71 6 | 28 8 | 49 6 |
| | Rights | Coun | 24 | 44 | 26 | 16 | 51 | 16 |
| | Obligatio | % LOCATI | 61 5 | 50 0 | 34 2 | 23 9 | 69 9 | 46 9 |
| | Rights | Coun | 8 | | | 3 | 1 | 12 |
| | Obligatio | % LOCATI | 20 5 | | | 4 5 | 1 4 | 3 5 |
| Tota | | Coun | 39 | 88 | 76 | 67 | 73 | 34 |
| | | % LOCATI | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 |

**Figure 11. Rights Ratio by Location**

In figure 11, it can again be seen that rights take precedence over obligations for the majority of respondents and in particular they do so in Prague and Milevsko.

| Viev | Rights> | Coun | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 | 19 | 20s | 30s | 40s | 50s | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | Age | | | | | |
| | Obligation | %within Age | 51.0% | 50.4% | 54.5% | 63.6% | 75.0% | 22.2% | 16.7% | 16.7% | 25.0% | 49.0% |
| | Rights> | Coun | 24 | 55 | 44 | 11 | 1 | 5 | 13 | 6 | 5 | 164 |
| | Obligation | %within Age | 49.0% | 48.7% | 43.6% | 33.3% | 25.0% | 55.6% | 72.2% | 50.0% | 62.5% | 47.3% |
| | Rights< | Coun | | 1 | 2 | 1 | | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 13 |
| | Obligation | %within Age | | 9% | 2.0% | 3.0% | | 22.2% | 11.1% | 33.3% | 12.5% | 3.7% |
| Total | | Coun | 49 | 113 | 101 | 33 | 4 | 9 | 18 | 12 | 8 | 347 |
| | | %within Age | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

**Figure 12. Rights Ratio by Age Group**

Figure 12 illustrates what we might intuitively expect. Younger respondents place a greater emphasis on rights while older respondents shift toward a balancing of rights and obligations or even toward obligations being more important then rights.

Finally, figure 13 suggests that the importance of rights over obligations declines as one moves from vocational schools (59.2%) to Specialist (51.9%) to Gymnasia (49.3%).

| Vie | Rights | Cou | School | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Obligatio | % | Basi | Vocation | Speciali | Gymnasi | Universi | Tota |
| | | Scho Leve | 8 3 | 59 2 | 51 9 | 49 3 | 25 0 | 48 7 |
| | Rights | Cou | 17 | 24 | 49 | 71 | 5 | 16 |
| | Obligatio | % | | | | | | |
| | | Scho Leve | 70 8 | 33 8 | 46 2 | 50 7 | 62 5 | 47 6 |
| | Rights | Cou | 5 | 5 | 2 | | 1 | 13 |
| | Obligatio | % | | | | | | |
| | | Scho Leve | 20 8 | 7 0 | 1 9 | | 12 5 | 3 7 |
| Tota | | Cou | 24 | 71 | 10 | 14 | 8 | 34 |
| | | % | | | | | | |
| | | Scho Leve | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 | 100 0 |

**Figure 13. Rights Ratio by School Level**

In summary, consider Turners' statement of the issues that a general theory of citizenship has to address, particularly his first two elements:

> Citizenship is concerned with (a) the content of social rights and obligations; (b) with the form or type of such obligations and rights; (c) with the social forces that produce such practices; and finally (d) with the various social forces arrangements whereby such benefits are distributed to different sectors of a society. The content of citizenship refers to the exact nature of the rights and duties which define citizenship.... The type of citizenship refers to whether citizenship is passive or active... The conditions of citizenship formation take us into the historical sociology of modern democracies. Finally, the flow of resources is concerned with differences in the individual life-cycle in relationship to the enjoyment of citizenship privileges. (Turner, 1993b: 3)

After having considered elements of the democratic context within which these conceptions are expected to orient action, the next section proposes additional material for the analytical scheme to be applied to the content and form of Czech conceptions of rights and obligations and their distribution among the population studied.

**Political Socialization and Civic Education**

One line of work that may appear a fruitful avenue to pursue for generating additional analytical categories is with the line of research on political socialization,[15] particular with adolescents. Adolescence has been defined "as a system of rights and duties, a social role" (Campbell, 1969: 821). Through 1972, there were few studies of adolescent political attitudes and the general results of these studies were that many students failed to support democratic norms (Merelman, 1972: 142, 144).

Emerging as a field of study in the 1950s, political socialization by the 1960s, in addition to examining Americans, was being used as one means of understanding the new African nations as they used education to socialize for modern society (Roach, 1967). In the 1970s, research examined political socialization in various Eastern European countries (Volgyes, 1975) as well as Canada (Pammett and Whittington, 1976). Essentially, this research died out until its resurgence in the 1980s in and around the aftermath of what might be referred to as "The Fall of the East" (E.g., Farah and Kuroda, 1987; Ichilov, 1990; Fratczak-Rumicka, 1991; Haste and Torney-Purta, 1992; Slomczynski and Shabad, 1997).

While related to this undertaking, political socialization research, as Renshon points out, has typically focused on process or outcome (1977: 4). Rather than examining the extant conceptions (or definitions) at one point

[15] Researchers in this line generally refer to Hyman (1959) as their point of origin.



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in time, these studies, even the cross-national ones (e.g., Nathan and Remy, 1977; Dash and Niemi, 1992) examine individual attitudes, rather than seeking discursive (hence, social) patterns for the object of investigation as attempted here.[16] One exception is Pammet and Whittington who in reviewing the three major approaches to political culture suggest an alternative approach that seeks to analyze attitudes defining a political culture in their formative stages (1976: 2).[17] Another is some of the recent work of Torney-Purta (1990; 1992; 1995) and others that seeks, for example, to discover cognitive schemata from think-aloud protocol.

Ule (1975) provides an early example of an attempt to gauge political socialization in the former Czechoslovakia by examining formal and informal structures as well as media elements of political socialization. Niemie and Hepburn provide a rationale for examining age differences by suggesting that new political socialization studies need to deal with change, development across generations and among youth (1995: 1; see also Sigel, 1995: 19, who suggests the same along with sub-group differences).

Flathman specifically considers views or conceptions and practices of political education in his work on the intersection of political and educational theory. His two major questions are: "Whether civic, democratic, and other specifically political conceptions of education are vocational rather than liberal and whether such conceptions are appropriate to a liberal regime" (1996:10). As an answer to one of his subsidiary questions, he suggests that different regime-types require different arrays of values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, dispositions, understandings, expertise, etc. (Flatham, 1996: 17).[18] Another strand of research treats political socialization as civic education, the domain in which a society attempts to transfer and/or construct specific conceptions requisite of participants in the public, civic culture. While it should be noted that concepts, by nature, are future oriented; they serve as action guides for forthcoming conduct (e.g., Dauenhauer, 1996: 36). Thus, it is useful to understand the conceptions held by participants involved in citizenship education. Conceptions participants themselves have of that process have not been investigated, so it is necessary to examine prescriptive statements of civic education.

One place to begin eliciting categories of analysis is with Patrick (1997) who argues that democracy needs a civil society to provide balance against statism as well as particular citizen skills and dispositions. Civil society is public voluntary associations. Citing Smolar, Patrick points out that many Poles and Czechs hold extreme positions against the state or government that will make it difficult to shift toward a civil society promoting constitutional democracy (Patrick, 1997: 26). Knowing the relative preponderance of these notions among Czechs provides a starting point for curriculum efforts geared toward educating democratic citizens. In addition to the existence of a civil society, Patrick provides additional elements of conceptions to look for in evaluating the definitions examined here: "behavioral skills and dispositions or virtues pertaining to leadership, cooperation, trust, temperance, tolerance, civility, self-reliance, and self-restraint" (Patrick, 1997: 29). The commonplace stance is that these civic qualities must be learned, acquired, or developed.

Among the respondents in my samples, teachers, as might be expected, had the most detailed definitions of civic education. For example:

> 1-1: 6b: Jako předmět učící a připravující mladého člověka žít ve společenství lidí vobec, umět se v životě orientovat, mít vlastní názor a být chráněn před ideologickou manipulací.
> As a subject they teach and prepare young people to live in an association of people into a community, to know how toward life to orient, to have one's own opinion and to be protected against ideological manipulation.
> 1-13: 6b: Předmět, který má v žácích položit základy vztahu člověka ke státu a poskytnout mu informace o jeho fungování, seznámit správy a povinnostmi občanu, informace o hospodářství a politice státu a jeho mezinárodním postavení.
> A subject which has in [the minds of] students to lay down a foundation of the relation of man toward the state and to give him information about his function, to acquaint a person with rights and duties of citizens, information about the economy, anbd politics of state and its international standing.

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[16] The ethnocentric nature of most of these studies should be noted. Rather than allowing respondents to mention what they view as the salient elements of a concept, respondents are provided elements of a concept to evaluate. Thus, this study has sought to discover the salient elements and/or themes within respondent definitions.

[17] They distinguish studies that examine the attitudes existing in a political culture from those seeking to deduce attitudes from political behavior or institutional frameworks (Pamett and Whittington, 1976: 2).

[18] This may be useful as an analytical lens in future work when coupled with Janoski's notions on regime types.

A few teachers, on the other hand, had more limited definitions:

1-27: 6b: Jako základní kámen občanské výchovy.
Like the basic rock of civic education.
1-31: 6b: Zapojení mladé generace do společnosti.
Connection of young generation into society.

While students were more apt to indicate a lack of knowledge as in the following examples:

2-5: 6b: Jsem příliš mladá.
I am too young.
2-6: 6b: Nevím.
I do not know.

Some students provided more detailed definitions akin to those written by teachers:

8-34: 6b: snaha přiblížit dětem původ, způsob, jak se mají chovat k ostatním, jak mají vlastně vnímat to, co se kolem nich děje.
Endeavor to draw a thing nearer to children origin, way, how they have to behave toward the state, how they have as a matter of fact to perceive it, what around its' history.
10-17: 6b: má seznámit studenty s jejich budoucí úlohou ve státě, seznamuje s tím, jak stát funguje, jak se na tom mohou podílet.
It has to acquaint students with their future roles in the state, it acquaints with them how the state functions as in it they could participate.

Gibson (1968) provides an introductory exposure to civic education and political socialization as they are effected by family and school experiences. He provides an initial and useful definition of civic education and points out that teachers may differ in terms of how they define civic culture and how to attain it (i.e. civic education): Citizenship education is the teaching and learning of bodies of knowledge, values, attitudes, and behaviors which are considered necessary for support and sustenance of the civic culture of the nation of the teacher and learner. (1968: 2)

Gibson points out that there are three facets of a civic culture--the concept of rights and responsibilities, a sense of identity with the polity, and a perspective on the tradition and style of the process of governing in the national polity (1968: 5). In terms of rights, Gibson argues that civic educators must teach the Constitutional personal, political and legal rights; for responsibilities, he mentions knowledge of and respect for laws as well as participation in law-making, respect for others' rights, individual responsibility, altruism, and positive affect for one's nation (Gibson, 1968: 5-7). Too, he considers the ratio of rights and responsibilities[18] to be crucial (1968, 8).

Ideas on the nature of citizenship education are varied. For instance, Giroux (1980) argues that both the transmission and social science models[19] of citizenship emerge out of a technical rationality while the reflective inquiry approach emerges out of an hermeneutic rationality. As an alternative, he suggests an emancipatory rationality utilizing culturalist or political economic positions which "combine historical critique, critical reflection, and social action" (Giroux, 1980: 350). More specifically, for Giroux, the "primary purpose [of citizenship education] must be to stimulate [students'] passions, and intellects so that they will be moved to challenge the social, political, and economic forces that weigh so heavily upon their lives" (1980: 357).

Stanley urges that civic education must "involve continuous inquiry and the development of tentative conclusions which form the basis of public policy" (1983: 38). Others argue that rather than "passive onlookers," democracy needs "active, informed decision-makers" (Longstreet, 1989: 44), or that citizenship education needs to be interdisciplinary (Wraga, 1993) or rooted in critically discussed civic-moral issues since citizens are moral agents (Mabe, 1993). Civic education is also seen as dealing with the nature of our duties to each other as well as our understanding of our obligations (O'Neill, 1988). As Chilcott points out, the application of an anthropological perspective highlights for us that the individuals relation to the state has changed as we have shifted from tribal societies to the modern state and continues to change as we create our global community (1986). To reiterate, as

[18] In effect, this may operate methodologically as a means of rating various the preponderance of either rights or responsibilities over the other. See Figure 1 and the associated text for an alternative perspective on this.

[19] See Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1978) on the transmission, reflective inquiry, and social science approaches to social studies.



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noted above, the forms and content of civic education can vary with their spatiotemporal location in the world. This variation also clearly exists within the definitions examined here.

**Conclusion**

Calling for a transformation in education in the Americas, Diamond (1997) argues that civic education must accomplish three things: It must generate a desire from below for democracy; it must develop the skills and dispositions needed for democracy to work; and, it must create people able to be governed democratically. In Europe, there are calls for education promoting a European identity within the Community (Mulcahy, 1994). Political scientists are even promoting the social sciences, particularly their own, as providing the basis for a vital democracy (Baskerville, 1997).

We would be remiss in our democratic duties were we to seek to impose western conceptions of democracy, citizenship, and civic education on the people of the Czech Republic. With the dialogue inherently assumed to permeate democratic thinking. This paper has assumed the stance that it is better to delineate the extant indigenous conceptions of democracy, citizenship, and civic education so that social scientists might better understand the empirical relationship between the three concepts in the specific case of the Czech Republic. More importantly, for the development of democracy, this information, it is hoped, will be useful for the Czech people as they seek to develop democratic habits of mind in their students.

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